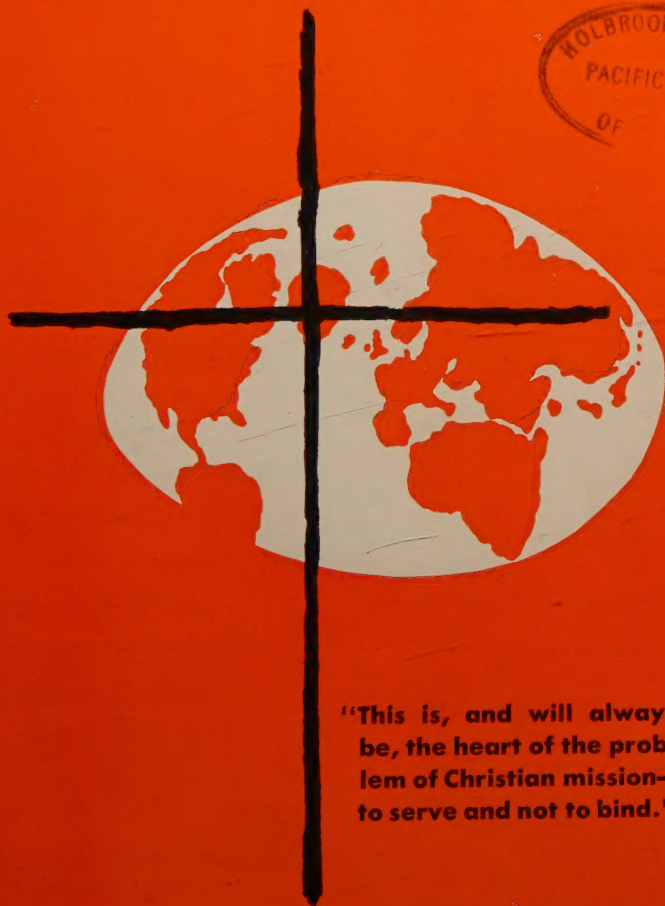


25¢

JUNE 1956

Social Action

A Magazine of Christian Concern



"This is, and will always be, the heart of the problem of Christian mission—to serve and not to bind."

**CHRISTIAN WORLD MISSION
AND SOCIAL ACTION**

Ralph Douglas Hyslop

Social Action

Vol. XXII, No. 10

June 1956

CONTENTS

Editorial	3
Christian World Mission and Social Action <i>By Ralph Douglas Hyslop</i>	7
Labor Racketeering—a Roman Catholic View	16
A Timely Message to the Churches	18
The Little Sisters of Saint-Paul	20
Books	23
Workshop	28

COVER: A drawing by Chester Tanaka.

SOCIAL ACTION is published monthly except July and August by the Council for Social Action of the Congregational Christian Churches and by the Commission on Christian Social Action of the Evangelical and Reformed Church, 289 Fourth Avenue, New York 10, N.Y. Myron W. Fowell and Elmer J. F. Arndt, Chairmen, Ray Gibbons and Huber F. Klemme, Directors, respectively.

F. Ernest Johnson
Editor

Elizabeth Henley
Assistant to the Editor

Editorial Board

A. William Loos
Chairman

Mrs. Charles E. Bingham

Richard M. Fagley

Ray Gibbons

Huber F. Klemme

Albert J. Penner

Herman F. Reissig

Charles H. Seaver

Subscription, \$2.00 per year.
Single copy, 25¢.

*Copyright, 1956, by the
Council for Social Action.*

Re-entered as second-class matter at the Post Office at New York, N.Y.

Editorial

The Church and "Subversion"

Occasionally the problem of dealing with suspected subversives is found on the church's doorstep. The case of Professor Herbert Fuchs, who was dismissed by the Methodist-supported American University in Washington presents, as the magazine *Life* puts it, "a moral dilemma to all colleges, and to all Americans." (April 23).

It appears that Mr. Fuchs, a professor of law, balked at disclosing the names of former Communist associates, thus raising an old and troublesome issue of the ethics of "informing" on others. However, persuaded by his administrative superiors to "come all the way home," he made revelations which so compromised himself in their eyes that he was "fired"!

"In a society founded on Christian ethics," *Life* editorializes, "the doctrine of repentance, conversion and forgiveness must surely be respected. At a time when Communists are achieving frequent successes in 'forgiving' and winning back their own defectors, can democracies place obstacles in the way of ex-Communists who seek to regain respectability? Many of Fuchs' own faculty colleagues, students and ex-students seem convinced of the sincerity and completeness of his break with Communism. If such repentance and conversion are to be rewarded only with a limbo of ostracism, others who face a similar dilemma can scarcely be blamed if they decide that the long voyage

home to decency is too hazardous to be attempted."

The editorial notes that Reinhold Niebuhr is among those who have asked the trustees of American University to reconsider their action in dismissing Professor Fuchs.

The problem, however, is somewhat more complicated than the *Life* editorial suggests. The matter of "repentance" and "forgiveness" may arise in a different context. It is so at the present time in a well-known church organization, an employee of which disclosed a former association now regarded as having subversive implications. In this case a question has arisen, not as to *accepting* a profession of repentance but as to the right and duty of the organization to *insist* on it.

If a person has come to regard a former questionable association as culpable, repentance and confession are obviously in order. Or if, in retrospect, it is seen to have been plain stupid, confession of such stupidity is likewise in order. If confession of sin is good for the soul, confession of stupidity is doubtless good for the mind. But let us not confuse the two.

It is altogether possible that a person caught in this predicament acted conscientiously all the way. Let us not forget the notorious "Red Networks" which put a stigma on many of the most respected leaders of Protestantism because of membership on some committee, or group of sponsors for some observance or other, which certain crusading individuals thought dangerous.

Indeed there have been times when a sincere Christian liberal had to take counsel with his conscience if he found he was *not* on somebody's "suspect" list.

This is not to say that there is no such thing as guilt by association—that is, presumptive guilt. Of course there is. "Evil companionships corrupt good morals." But that is not the point. The real issue involves many questions as to the what, when, and why of the association, and in particular as to the motives that lay behind it. It will be a melancholy record for our Christian descendants to scan if in our time the churches or their institutions set about dealing summarily with persons who showed sympathy with Communism at a time when it was making a strong—even though spurious—appeal to humanitarian sentiments in all parts of the world.

Soviet Power

Little by little the Western illusion of the Soviet Union's vulnerability as a national power, which has persisted since the Russian Revolution, has been giving way to a facing of political and economic facts. Even yet, however, in spite of the veritable terror that is spread by every manifestation of Communist intrigue there is a disposition to assume that anything so unorthodox politically and economically as the Soviet regime cannot be viable. Some recent informed writing on the subject challenges all assumptions of this sort.

Marguerite Higgins of the *New York Herald Tribune* staff, who has distinguished herself as a foreign re-

porter, raises the question in her column of April 9 whether "the Soviet world is going to continue the remarkable expansion that brought nearly a billion souls into the Communist fold in the space of a few years and has seen Russia itself emerge not only as a major nuclear air and sea power (second largest navy) but as the nation with the fastest rate of industrial growth." She remarks that it is only in the recent past that the Communist world has been taken seriously as a rival of the West.

The *New Leader* (New York) in a major article in its issue of March 19 comments on the extraordinary economic growth of the Soviet Union: "Though Western experts may argue about the precise rate of increase in Russian productivity, no one can deny that it is as high as any in the West, and much higher than most. Russia is now producing more steel and power than Britain and Germany combined. Her coal production has increased tenfold in the last 20 years. And all this increase is available to the state for purposes decided by the Communist leaders."

Harold Callendar in a special dispatch to the *New York Times* on April 14 (issue of April 15) wrote:

"If the Communists have their dogmas, so have the capitalists. It apparently still is accepted Communist theory that capitalism is doomed to decay or collapse, and is even destined to produce increasing 'pauperization' of the wage-earners. . . .

"On the other hand, much of the Western world, above all the United States, tends to accept as a dogma

that capitalist forms of society are incomparably the most productive. This doctrine seems borne out by the United States economy, fabulously productive in the last few years. It seems borne out in Western Europe, where production has likewise expanded, though to a lesser extent than in the United States.

"Yet the question that now arises in the minds of European economists is whether this apparent superiority of capitalism is necessarily a law of nature."

He cites an article from *Lloyds Bank Review* indicating that industrial output of the Soviet Union in 1950 was 35 per cent of that of the United States but that in 1955 it came close to 50 per cent of the latter. The increase in output of the United States was estimated to be 24 per cent and that of the Soviet Union 75 per cent.

Miss Higgins, in the article above referred to, notes that the gain in Communist strength has been translated into an extremely effective diplomatic drive. Concerning this she says:

"It can't be denied that the Communists have made some inroads. Iceland, a charter member of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, has asked for the withdrawal of Western troops on the grounds that 'lessening of tension' makes their presence unnecessary; voices in Denmark, Holland, Belgium, even Greece and Turkey, are being added to those elsewhere in Western Europe advocating neutralism." She quotes a "high American official":

"It may seem paradoxical, but to offset the prospect of Communist

seizure the United States may even have to retire gracefully from places which indicate that we have outworn our usefulness and to urge our allies to do the same."

Walter Lippmann in his column of April 24, speaking of the change that has come over the world since the death of Stalin, said: "We are most conscious of it . . . because of the presence of the Soviet Union as a great power in the whole vast arc from Morocco to Japan. . . . The great new fact is that in 1955 the Soviet Union passed the ring of containment and began to operate openly and with the methods of classic diplomacy to challenge the political predominance of the Western nations."

Mr. Lippmann thinks that instead of a "great debate" the United States is now on the threshold of a "great inquiry" concerning future strategy. As for the choice before us we can "compete with the Soviet Union by trying to out-bid her"; or we can undertake to collaborate "on the principle of a consortium or concert of power"; or we can, in line with Governor Stevenson's suggestion, "turn to the United Nations as the main distributor of technical aid, hoping that it will regulate and limit the competition of the great powers."

What of Titoism?

The phenomenon of Titoism, which is now rather a European than a mere Yugoslavic development, is one of the most challenging aspects of the European situation. To discriminating minds the writings of Djilas and Kardelj long ago evidenced a democratic way of

thinking that has been quite alien to Soviet thinking, at least during the Stalin era.

The situation became confused when Djilas and Dedijer fell into disfavor, and it looked as if, after all, Communism might be monolithic—and all of the Kremlin brand. But a recent series of articles by C. L. Sulzberger of the *New York Times* affords much evidence that the differences between Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union are very considerable. Entitled "What Is Titoism?" and dispatched from Paris after extended observations in Yugoslavia, this series throws new light on a problem of first-rate importance for our foreign relations.

In a striking passage introducing his report he says of the Yugoslavs: "They still maintain the orthodoxy of their tenets. But, like the Church of England, they have modified doctrine to suit their own needs. There is, of course, in this parallel one transcendently important difference: Rome never apologized to Canterbury the way Moscow did to Belgrade."

The Yugoslav revolution, in contrast to the Russian, was "pragmatic from the start." It was indigenous—not imposed by the Red Army. It had its origin in resistance to Nazi occupation. Initially, there was the "all-pervasive secret police" which is a concomitant of Communist dictatorship, but this "has eased considerably." Even in the case of Djilas and Dedijer, "physical freedom was never restricted." For a time, what Moscow is now denouncing as the "cult of the individual" was in evidence and Tito was *it*.

The break with the Cominform changed that. At present, "reverence for Tito as top man and main war hero is about half way between our own public respect for Eisenhower and the Soviet system of iconography."

Rigidly enforced collectivization gave way as Tito's realm ceased to be a Soviet colony. "Never rigid in dogma, the Titoist leaders began to look about and explore the outside world. As a result they gradually modified their ideology." An interpreter of the prevailing ideology is quoted as saying: "Of course we are moving toward socialization of the peasants. But this is voluntary socialization."

The trend is toward decentralization in control and toward utilization of some of the incentives relied on in a private-enterprise system.

Reflecting on these facts in relation to American foreign policy, Mr. Sulzberger observes that Titoism "implies liberty of political as distinct from ideological action. And even if Yugoslavia should ever rejoin the Soviet orbit this abstract concept of Titoism will remain. The idea of Protestantism would have continued even if Luther and Calvin had recanted." And he offers this broad generalization:

"It is not the task of United States foreign policy to oppose communism as an ideology. Our tradition is to allow any country to choose its own form of government. What we oppose is enslavement by outside powers. Legitimately we cannot object to communism as such. But we can and do object to Soviet imperialism."

Christian World Mission and Social Action

By Ralph Douglas Hyslop

THE Foreword to the Report of a recent conference of Christians in India contains these words: "One word of caution which may be uttered is that Christian leaders in India should try to spell out in detail the meaning of ecumenical Christian utterances in the light of the Indian context if they are not to be accused of being 'religious imperialists' who are divorced from the life, thought, and culture of their own people. . . ."

Careful study of the Report of this conference should convince any reader that this danger was there avoided. Most of us would need to see no more than the name given to the conference to be assured that here was no parroting of United States policy and political thinking: the study conference was called "An Ecumenical Christian Conference on a Socialistic Pattern of Society in India." The final words of the Foreword are: ". . . the Indian Chris-

tian can do much to help to bring to pass the socialistic pattern of society in his own day. To this task he can and should bring a single-minded Christian zeal and devotion, a spirit of creative citizenship, and a keenness for service which cannot be deflected from the right path by criticism or apparent failure."

Perhaps the best antidote one can have for the shallow thinking in which many of us engage, when we consider Christian missions and their influence in a changing society, is to be confronted by this Report and its implications. I have no intention of submitting it to careful analysis, but there are certain aspects of it which demand attention and, in fact, focus our thinking on developments of singular importance in the life of the Christian churches throughout the world. There is, for instance, the fact that the Conference, which was held in Bombay January 3-6 of this year, brought together some of the foremost political scientists, economists, and sociologists of India as well as a limited number of theologians and church leaders. The chairman was

Dr. Hyslop, a Congregational Christian minister, is Professor of Ecumenical Studies at Union Theological Seminary in New York City.

Dr. Eddy Asirvatham, head of the department of political science of the University of Nagpur. The inaugural address was delivered by Dr. John Matthai, former Finance Minister of India and now the Director of the State Bank of India and vice-chancellor of the University of Bombay.

The quality of leadership and participation in the Conference might surprise only those who have not been informed of the distinguished contributions made by the Christian churches to education in India. Even the well-informed, however, might be surprised at the fact that the Conference was organized under the auspices of the National Christian Council of India and the Christian Institute for the Study of Society, and that its purpose was related to a three-year study of "Common Christian Responsibility toward Areas of Rapid Social Change" by the World Council of Churches. Those who have misgivings about the very word *socialistic* might be forgiven if they feel a certain dismay at the general and calm acceptance of not only the word but its far-reaching implications. But they will be less than just if, in their shock at the acceptance of the "socialistic pattern of society" by these Indian Christians, they fail to perceive the devotion with which these leaders in India commit themselves to the task of clarifying the meaning and implications of this pattern and the responsibilities which it entails for the Christian Church, for the individual Christian, and for the nation at large.

Christian Community

We learn from this Conference, then, a number of important facts about the Christian community in lands where our missionary endeavor has helped to bring into being truly responsible Christian churches. We learn, if we are wise, that these churches, just because they *are* responsible and free, do not respond to the challenges of their countries as though they, the churches, were alien to the land. They respond as Christian churches living in a certain environment and facing specific problems. They find their leaders among those who know that environment as their own and face those problems every day of their lives. They are helped most by the churches of other lands when those churches, too, are acting responsibly in relation to their own problems and exercising the freedom of Christian churches both to criticize and defend and strengthen the ways of life most appropriate to that freedom.

Although the word *ecumenical* is obviously in danger of being over-used, it is clear that the contribution our churches can make is best described in terms which that word expresses and implies. For *ecumenical* means universal, in a unique Christian sense. It means that all Christian churches are bound together by ties of faith and love and action which are real not because of human wisdom or tactics but because God has given himself to man in Jesus Christ, the one Lord and Savior of mankind. Every Christian church has the task of proclaiming

this truth to the world, and all Christians know their fellowmen as those for whom Christ died in love and sacrifice. To recognize as a Christian church a group of men and women living in a way quite different from one's own it is necessary only to perceive what God has done for them and what they believe he asks them to do in the name of Christ for their fellowmen. In these great matters, we are made one. But let us note, again, that we help each other most when we try to understand the varied conditions in which we live and answer God's call to action. For, thus understanding, we will be less likely to assume that only one answer, our own, can be given to the vital questions posed by these conditions.

A Revolutionary Movement

This task of understanding has been seriously accepted by those who have labored as missionaries abroad. Inevitably, the burden of it has rested far more lightly on us at home. We register surprise and, perhaps, dismay when confronted with the evidence that the Christian churches in India support and seek to influence in Christian ways the development of a socialistic pattern of society. Is this not revolutionary? Yes, it is. It may have been with similar dismay that the churches in England observed the strong support given by the New England churches to an earlier revolution.

But this revolution is worldwide in its scope and effects. Here is a description of it in Asia: "The struggle for and the attainment of national independence, the break-up

of the old village structure of society and the attempt to build up a society based on industrial techniques, the challenge to old customs and traditions through new conceptions of fundamental rights, the transformation in the status of women and the pattern of the family, all these indicate the vast dimensions of the revolution." These words are from the Central Committee of the World Council of Churches and are addressed to churches throughout the world.

Another statement, introducing the World Council of Churches study already referred to, is even more sweeping: "The peoples of Asia, Africa, and Latin America are in ferment; they have been awakened to a new sense of human dignity. They are in revolt against political and social conditions that deny human freedom and seek release from traditional customs and institutions that enslave. The urge to build new patterns of society, in which fundamental rights, economic welfare, and social well-being can be attained, is widespread."

Christian Influence on Revolution

With revolution the characteristic of the very area where Christian missions have concentrated, the question arises: "Then, have we failed in our efforts to establish the Christian faith in these parts of the world?" But that question is not the right one. We must rather ask: "To what extent is the revolution we witness the very sign of our success?" Before indicating the relevance of that question, let me suggest that

the causes of the revolution in Asia, Africa, and Latin America are very complex indeed. It would be foolish and quite beside the point to claim too much for Christianity. But it would be worse than foolish to assert that these revolutionary ferments are quite unrelated to the Christian influences of 150 years and that they impose no responsibility upon us as Christians now and in the future.

Christianity has had a good deal to say about the denial of human freedom, about traditional customs and institutions that enslave. It has had a good deal to do with the transformation of the status of women and, through education, it has had more than many of us realize to do with the struggle for and attainment of national independence. A good look at the history of the West helps us to realize this, but we have not yet comprehended the contribution of our faith in Asia and Africa where events now move with startling rapidity and where the numerical strength of Christianity is deceptively slight.

But let us look for a moment at our own contributions to the birth of a revolution—those of us who are in the Congregational tradition and who have perhaps forgotten that we were once part of a revolution and are now involved in another. We began in 1815 with eight missionaries, no Christian community, no schools, clinics, hospitals, social centers, or agricultural projects. Today, there are 330 missionaries (a drop from nearly 900 a generation ago) and 500,000 in the Christian community, in thousands of churches. Schools enroll more than 100,000

students. More than 70 hospitals, medical centers, and clinics care for 220,000 persons a year. Social centers, agricultural demonstration projects have far-reaching effects. Most important, leaders are being trained—more than 12,000 at present carrying responsibility in many fields.

These are facts presented by our American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions not in order that we may engage in self-congratulation but to help us to understand the crisis we face. For the fact is that we *have* helped to make a revolution, and we now give indications of withdrawing our aid at the most critical moment.

Influence, not Control

To aid a revolution is not, let us understand, to control it. Nor is it to guarantee that the nature and objectives of the revolution will be defined alike by all who influence it. When we have established schools to train the future leaders of any nation, we have not been able to decide that ours shall be the only schools or our philosophy of education the only one prevailing. We had neither the resources nor the authority for that, and it is doubtful that we should have used them even if we had possessed them.

In South Africa, our schools received 75 per cent of their budget from the government. But education prepares children for responsibilities that cannot be granted by the present government of South Africa, and so a Bantu Education Act is passed and the government funds are withdrawn. A revolution which we aided in South Africa is

now countered by one which an intransigent authority demands. This is, indeed, counter-revolution, the suppression of freedom rather than its release. It is significant, however, that Christian missions provided one of the means by which a revolution for freedom was brought into being. But today it is a Christian authority in South Africa which denies that freedom in the name of an order allegedly given to human society by the divine law-giver!

An even more perplexing problem is posed by the case of China. The very mention of the name raises the question: "Which China do you mean?" This, you say, is primarily a political question. One speaks of Communist China and of Nationalist China. But here immediately is the issue for us, in its most general and yet poignant terms. Christian missions, we recall, had something to do with the rise of nationalism in China. Congregationalism played no small part in it and, taken as a whole, Protestant Christian missions, through evangelism and education, health and welfare work, exerted an influence in the rapidly changing scene in China quite out of proportion to the actual size of the Chinese Christian community. But influence is not control. We were an important part, but only a part, of the complex of forces—political, economic, military, and social—that made up a revolution in a vast and complex society. Our influence now in what we call Red China may be more pervasive than we realize, but our natural tendency is to acknowledge defeat and question the value of all that

was done. To add to our bewilderment, there is the fact that the seat of the Nationalist government, Formosa, is the center of evangelistic activity of many ardent and active sects, as we call them. Are these groups going to succeed where we failed? Will they establish a vigorous Christian community among those who in the future will again determine the destiny of the vast continental area from which they are now exiled?

The Church Itself Is Involved

Returning now to India and Christian support of a socialistic pattern of society, where, you may ask, do the Christians of India get this idea? The true answer, of course, is that they, like ourselves, being products of the Protestant Reformation, get this idea from the Bible. But in the more immediate background is the missionary movement of these Protestant churches. So the answer is: they got this idea from us. India was wise enough, and fortunate enough in her colonial masters, to achieve a non-violent revolution. But it was a revolution, for all that, and it continues.

There can be no doubt that this revolution is, in part, our responsibility. True, the total Christian population of India is but two per cent of the total population and there are many obvious influences that have brought about great and accelerating change within that vast population. But, to the extent that our Christian mission has been truly Christian, it has contributed to the revolution. The right to know, to be treated with respect, to stand as a

man and not as a member of a caste, to aspire to self-government and a rightful place of influence—all this was the challenge of Christianity to India and it is now the claimed right and duty of the whole people.

It was these rights and duties that Christian education and medical care and social work and, above all, evangelism made clear and compelling in the past. In so doing, Christianity in India not only influenced a revolution in the political sphere but brought one about in the church itself which culminated in the creation of the Church of South India: a union of Episcopal, Presbyterian, Congregational, and Reformed churches. It is inspiring to talk with these Christians of India who work for the uniting of the Christian Church and for the continued reform of the whole pattern of life in their country. There are not many of them, in relation to the whole people, but one senses that their position is of unusual importance because they are really trained to lead—because they understand and believe and are committed.

No One Pattern

We must understand and believe and be committed, not only within our national borders but as part of this world in revolution. It is really a frightening prospect. We have to begin where it hurts, with the realization that our own national pattern, in a country with strong Christian traditions and present loyalties, is nevertheless neither a possible nor even a desirable pattern for *all* other countries. And we have to ac-

cept the fact that this is so not because these countries have, in many cases, small Christian minorities but because these Christians themselves are not and cannot be committed to our pattern and to our answers. Just as the task of Christian missions has always been to enable men and women and children to know and love a Master who is theirs as well as ours, so the task of all of us today is to help our fellow Christians to find a way which is truly their own.

The great discovery for us can be that this, too, is ultimately our way as well as theirs just as the Master can and does belong to us both though we know him in such different circumstances. No people seeking freedom and justice and equality, with the restraints and safeguards that these demand in any society, can be seeking a different goal from our own. But the way they take will be their way, in their land, with different problems and precedents from our own. Ours must be the wisdom that enables them to go their way with our help and our understanding. This wisdom can be aided by the inescapable knowledge that we have already helped them to begin walking their way.

This help must continue without pressure. For the Congregational Christian Churches, it is quite clear that there must be greatly increased support of the worldwide program which is carried on through the American Board. Here are the resources of experience, understanding, institutions, and persons that have made possible the very opportunities we now face, not the least of which is the coming into being

of strong well-led churches in the lands of the mission. Our part in Christian world revolution is possible at all only because we have pioneered in missions. If we cease to pioneer now, it will be in part because we have lost faith in the transforming power of the gospel, in part because we have begun to fear that very power.

Social Change in America

We must not lose faith and we must not succumb to fear. We ought to think very specifically about what these words mean. Part of our faith must be in the ability of Christians in areas of very rapid change to influence that change in Christian ways. We must have faith in their own loyalty to Christian truth and their commitment to Christian purposes. We cannot maintain this faith in their loyalty unless we hold and develop our own faith in the possibility of bringing Christian influence to bear on changes taking place in our own national life. One prominent cause of fear among us is the bewildering rapidity of social change throughout the world and the dizzying, accelerating pace of our own responsibility in the world.

If we could have moved to a position of world power in a relatively tranquil and static period, we might feel less disturbed than we do. It is not simply our power that alarms us, though that is sobering enough, but the fact that we must exercise that power in a time when so many of the old stable landmarks are gone. It may be these facts, even more than the menace of Soviet imperialism, that cause us at times

to doubt our ability to find our way in this new realm of world power. In the face of these doubts and fears, we must find the double assurance that comes from faith in our fellow men and faith in our own future.

That future is, whether we like it or not, bound up with the destinies of those across the world from us. We can move forward with confidence, then, only if we understand and begin to shape the forces that affect our common life. For the countries of Asia and Africa where most of our mission has been centered, these forces are seen in terms of rapid change in the social, economic, and political spheres. These changes mean emancipation in both beneficial and precarious ways: a new sense of the dignity of the individual, progress in education, freedom from back-breaking toil, but also the peril of individual and social irresponsibility and demoralization.

The problems and opportunities of nationalism arise in particularly complex forms when rapid industrialization and political movements coincide in placing heavy responsibilities on those suddenly cut loose from accustomed cultural patterns. Both the patterns of village life and those of the urban community are rapidly changing, and the changes are frequently of the kind that threatens individual and social standards.

But what of our own life and the changes in our own society? We know that these are great and rapid, too, but we are aware that they are neither as rapid nor as radical in

their consequences as those in Africa and Asia which we have so briefly noticed. The basic fact, as already suggested, is our inevitable relationship to these areas of greater change. It is our industrial, technical civilization which has brought these areas inexorably into the revolution now occurring. The most sincere Christian convictions have led us in the past to contribute spiritual impulses to the making of this revolution. Now, we are bound up with those who move, far more rapidly than did we ourselves, into this terrible and exciting century. What can we do with this responsibility? What should we do for those who are thus bound to us?

Perils of a Rich Nation

For both ourselves and them, it is essential that we face the fact of our responsibility. We can hardly deny our influence, whether it be defined in narrowly technical or in broadly cultural terms. Let us not, as Christians, seek to avoid conscious responsibility and commitment. Our task is to discover ways of exerting all legitimate Christian influence upon public policy so that the right forms of technical aid and economic assistance shall be made available to the countries of Asia and Africa. We need to give serious and disciplined study to the peculiar problems confronting a rich and powerful nation. It is well that we study, as we are doing, our economy of abundance. What we do with our wealth and power has more influence than we care to admit, not just on the economic but on the spiritual health of all peoples. We

think of ourselves as a generous people and the record of recent years goes far to support that view. But it may be even more crucial that we discover a way to be generous without calling attention to it, a way to help without dominating — in a word, a way to serve.

There are disturbing indications in the gospel, and in the history of Christianity, that Christian service is very difficult, almost impossible, for the rich man or the rich nation. It is tempting to speak subtly about this problem, but the blunt truth seems to be that we just do not trust the motives of the rich man when he tries to help us. It may be possible to overcome this suspicion of motives when it comes to the individual but a rich nation is certain to be suspected—and properly so. We are certainly not giving material aid to others only for their sakes but also in order that we may preserve our own prosperity. To be sure, a remnant of guilt remains in our minds after we have assured ourselves that our riches were acquired at the expense of no other nation, but it is not sufficient to move us to penitent action in any real sense. Our giving, generous as it has been, is not self-denying. It is, rather, self-extending. It is always so.

To Serve, not to Bind

Here is hope for us, rather than despair. We *do* extend to others ourselves along with our gift. We have known this always in terms of Christian mission; we need to discover it more fully in terms of all that we do as a people. It is our great opportunity as Christians in the Unit-

ed States, to make so strong and steady a contribution to the world Christian community that the unique witness of that community will be greatly extended in every land. Thus, within our own nation and in every country in the world, men may see and encounter in the midst of life the truly giving community, a family which gives its own life fully and freely to the up-building of all life in fellowship.

We are able also, as Christian citizens, to influence the policy of private enterprise and public programs to the end that our national giving may be a responsible extension of our true aims and purposes. These national concerns are surely related to, though never identical with, the aims and purposes of the Christian community itself. Our Christian mission is never the imposition of our belief or customs upon other men but the response, with them, to the call of God to fellowship in Christ. Our mission as a nation is not the imposition of our pattern of society upon others but the discovery, with them, of the relationships that best enable them and us to achieve maximum freedom and prosperity in every sense, through the institutions and forms that are most appropriate.

It is well for us to be reminded

that there can be a "religious imperialism" just as there may be economic and political domination of one people by another. The cause of all imperialism is the human desire to exploit the resources and the very persons of other men for our own ends. We are not magically released from all temptation to exploit others when we profess the Christian faith. We are, it would seem, given powerful aid in resisting that temptation. We are reminded always that we were given freedom at the cost of life itself by one whose purpose was not to bind us to himself but to free us to the service of God and our fellow-men. In the very exercise of our freedom, we are aided by his example and we seek, with whatever pain and difficulty, the ways in which we can serve and in serving, set free. This is, and will always be, the heart of the problem of Christian mission—to serve and not to bind. We are beginning to see that it is also the heart of the world problem we face at all its levels of meaning and complexity. It is not presumptuous to believe that the world Christian community, of which we must be a vital part, can give light and power to a world moving so rapidly out of many forms of bondage, yet menaced by the possibility of heavier chains.

The final test of science is not whether it adds to our comfort, knowledge and power, but whether it adds to our dignity as men, our sense of truth and beauty.

—DAVID SARNOFF, Chairman of the Board, RCA.

Labor Racketeering – a Roman Catholic View

"Too much winking at labor racketeering" is the title of the article featured in The Yardstick, a news feature service of the National Catholic Welfare Conference. The Yardstick carries a secondary title, "Catholic Tests of a Social Order." It is prepared by Msgr. George G. Higgins, director of the Social Action Department of the N.C.W.C. A substantial part of the article which was released for April 16, follows:

Whom the gods would destroy they first make mad.

The labor racketeers who are thought to have been responsible for the vicious attack on New York labor reporter and columnist, Victor Riesel, are another proof of the wisdom of this ancient adage. If this crime was really of their making, they are their own worst enemies. In the twinkling of an eyelash—in the flicking of the hired hand that splashed a bottle of sulphuric acid into Mr. Riesel's eyes at three o'clock in the morning on April 5—they did more to arouse public opinion against themselves and, ultimately, to seal their own doom, than their unfortunate victim could have done in literally hundreds of columns and speeches during the past 10 or 15 years.

From one point of view, therefore, the sheer stupidity, the very madness of these criminals may

prove to have been a blessing in disguise. As a personal friend of Victor Riesel, we sincerely hope and pray that his recovery from their vicious attack will be speedy and complete. God forbid that he should lose his eyesight at the hands of such despicable racketeers who, in addition to all their other crimes, are guilty of masquerading in sheer hypocrisy as legitimate representatives of the labor movement.

In a statement from his hospital bed, Mr. Riesel himself put the challenge to "the decent men of labor" very pointedly. "For God's sake," he said, "stop looking the other way. Stop apologizing and sidestepping. Use the AFL-CIO Ethical Practices Committee to begin a real, all-out war against the mobs." Let us hope and pray that "the decent men of labor" will respond to this dramatic challenge without fear or favor, let the chips fall where they may. The sooner the better. There is no time to lose.

It would be unrealistic to assume that "the decent men of labor"—who are in the overwhelming majority in the American labor movement—can solve the problem of labor racketeering without the wholehearted cooperation of employers, politicians, and the guardians of the law.

The role of employers in solving this scandalous problem is particu-

larly important. For it is obvious that much of the racketeering in the labor movement is a two-way proposition, a collusive and mutually profitable arrangement between unscrupulous labor leaders and unscrupulous employers who are willing to pay a fancy price for "soft" contracts at the expense of the rank and file workers. The New York waterfront scandal is an eloquent case in point. According to the experts on this subject, many of the employers on the waterfront, far from co-operating with the AFL when it expelled the discredited International

Longshoremen's Association, secretly sided with the I.L.A. which they had come to respect as a docile union.

Negatively, the moral of all this is that people who live in glass houses should not throw stones. That goes for employers, labor leaders, politicians, and the guardians of the law. From the more positive point of view, the moral is that the elimination of racketeering in the field of labor management relations is the joint responsibility of all the parties concerned, including the politicians.

"Business Motives"

Walker Stone, editor-in-chief of the Scripps-Howard newspapers, appeared recently before the House Post Office Committee to speak in favor of higher postal rates for newspapers. He sought to offset the representations which had been made to the committee by a spokesman for the Hearst newspapers. Mr. Stone said, in part:

"We believe the costs of handling the mails should be paid by those who use the mails. We see no reason why taxpayers generally should be asked to make up the annual Post Office Department deficit, and even less reason why future generations should be asked to pay for our mail."

He quoted from an editorial he had written in 1939: "Speaking for ourselves . . . [we] want no free ride at the taxpayers' expense. We are willing to pay the costs of distributing our newspapers. And we should like to see other newspapers and magazines join in asking for abolition of this Government subsidy. Those who refuse need not be surprised if their editorial utterances against the Government's other borrow-and-spend gratuities fail to convince."

Mr. Stone resented the suggestion offered by the Hearst papers' spokesman "that Scripps-Howard's editorial policies are guided by business motives."

A Timely Message to the Churches

The Third National Conference on the Church and Economic Life, held in Pittsburgh, April 12-25, addressed itself to the theme, "The Christian Conscience and an Economy of Abundance." Held under the auspices of the Department of the Church and Economic Life of the National Council of Churches, the Conference was noteworthy for its representativeness—especially with respect to the large proportion of lay members. Portions of the "Message" adopted by the Conference are reprinted below.

WE ARE entering a new age in the history of mankind. For the first time in human experience it appears possible that enough can be produced to meet the basic needs of man. We may refer to this new period as an age of abundance in contrast with past ages of economic scarcity. The promises of this economy are great but its perils are so real that we cannot evade the challenges which this new age brings to the Christian conscience. To the shallow expression, "We never had it so good," the Christian must reply, "We never had such heavy demands upon the Christian conscience."

* * *

In an age of scarcity when there is not enough to go around, when privation is inevitable, the obligation of Christians is to do all they can for the relief of suffering, knowing as they do so that a great pool of need will still remain.

In an age of increasing abundance the Christian obligation assumes new dimensions. For in such an age Christian duty is not done until everyone has access to the basic necessities of life. But this Christian

duty cannot be discharged by the mere giving of material goods to those who do not share in the abundance. It must be done in ways which recognize the dignity of each person and each group whom Christians would help. It must be done by the sharing of such knowledge, and assistance in the development of such facilities and institutions, and in the creation of such conditions as will enable people to help themselves. It must be done by methods that will call the Christian principle of mutuality into play.

We must recognize the fact that even as we complain of problems of "surplus" there are in our own country large numbers of people who do not share in the general abundance. Improved as is the distribution of income in our country and profoundly encouraging as is the substantial increase in the welfare and income of the middle groups in the economic scale, it is still true that about one-fourth of all families in the United States have annual incomes of less than \$2,000, not nearly enough to sustain a life of health and hope. Among those whose share in the general

abundance is particularly low are most of the smaller scale farm families, some groups of wage-earners, and numbers of recent immigrants and newcomers to our country. Moreover, discrimination and segregation practices against minority races deprive many of their members of the chance to earn a fair share of the fruits of this new age or to contribute in their full measure to the nation's welfare.

* * *

As we look beyond the borders of our own country we find a world where millions of people are hungry or ill-fed. No people can call itself Christian if, possessed of the means to abundance, it fails to exert every effort within its power to relieve want wherever it exists. No people can live in isolated plenty in the midst of a needy world and expect to avoid the withering of its Christian spirit. As stewards of abundance, owing all to God, we must in simple justice and brotherhood share with those in need.

There are and there will be circumstances where stark suffering or the consequences of disaster justify and require the direct giving of what people need. In such circumstances the giving should be done with no expectation of return, no political strings on the gift, and with mutual respect and regard between the recipient and the giver.

But a more far-reaching Christian act, which will build for better Christian relationships, is assistance to people to help themselves, the sharing not only of things but of knowledge, techniques, methods, and the creative spirit. To this end

Christians should support substantial participation by individuals, private agencies, and the government of the United States in a long-range program of cooperation with the people of other nations. Such programs should include the promotion of mutually advantageous world trade and assistance in the development of the less economically developed countries of the world. In these endeavors the agencies of the United Nations should be used as fully as possible.

* * *

Progress is not inevitable; nor is any guarantee of continuance of our prosperity to be found in the pattern of historical events. In endeavoring to make sure that the abundance we see about us does not prove a false dawn, Christians must choose and support methods of maintaining and increasing that abundance which are consistent with the Christian ethic. They cannot accept the idea that military expenditures are a necessary prop to our economy, but [should] seek their reduction at the earliest time and to the greatest extent that is consistent with the safety of the free world. Christians should decide now to support constructive substitutes for military expenditures when the latter can be reduced. Among these, besides additional overseas economic development programs, are the expansion of programs for the elimination of slums, the redevelopment of blighted areas, and conservation of neighborhoods in American cities, for the building of hospitals and carrying forward a broad attack on disease, for the maintenance and

construction of highways, and for the orderly development of natural resources.

* * *

There is no necessary contradiction between an economy of abundance and the principles of Christian living. But the Christian must always realize that an increasing volume of goods and services does not necessarily contribute to the "more abundant life." As a consumer, the Christian has choices of profound importance to make. One of these is to spend his income on goods and services which promote human welfare rather than those which are useless or harmful to mankind. Another important choice and challenge is to avoid the sin of thought-

less waste and selfish dissipation of income and goods. The Christian cannot justify expenditures beyond his reasonable needs on the excuse that he is thereby supporting an abundant economy.

In an age of potential abundance there is a special temptation to uncritical conformity with things as they are which the Christian must resist. The church itself faces this danger. In such a time as this there rests upon every Christian a supreme obligation to heed the call of St. Paul when he said: "Do not be conformed to this world but be transformed by the renewal of your mind, that you may prove what is the will of God, what is good and acceptable and perfect."

The Little Sisters of Saint-Paul

The Economist (London), which is one of your editor's most valued resources, has just come through a devastating strike. By ingenious planning and conscientious effort the magazine avoided suspension, though some issues had a pitiful appearance. The story of how the crisis was met has extraordinary ethical and religious overtones. It was told in the issue of April 7, and we reproduce it here.

BEHIND the last five issues of *The Economist*, which were produced by the Imprimerie Saint-Paul at Fribourg in Switzerland, there lies an experience so rich and rewarding to those who took part that they are in duty bound to try to share it with the paper's readers. Some parts of this story have appeared in the British press and they may have carried the suggestion that we were being printed in an unfamiliar kind of closed shop staffed by nuns and

monks. This is only half true (for there were no monks) and it gives a totally wrong impression. "We are not," said *la Mère Générale*, "a closed order; we are just a happy band of working sisters." How happy, and how devoted to their work, we were to discover from the moment that *les Petites Soeurs de Saint-Paul* started to compose the first of the five issues, unfamiliar in language and secular in content. To have been allowed to work as guests

in collaboration with the Little Sisters was a rare and moving privilege.

The printing works of Saint-Paul was founded 83 years ago by Canon Schorderet, and the modern fulfilment of his act of faith is a block of buildings housing the religious congregation, a composing room splendid in its dimensions and equipment, modern presses for book printing producing the best half-tone and colour work, and the rotary press on which *The Economist* was printed. The Little Sisters, of whom there are about one hundred and thirty, work in the composing room and in the administrative offices, they also serve the bookshop and library which are attached to the works. One of their main concerns is the daily publication of *La Liberté* but there is other newspaper work to do, and much periodical and book printing. Saint-Paul would challenge comparison for efficiency and working conditions with any plant of similar size in the world. It is a revelation of what a good printing works ought to be.

"To the Glory of God"

One stresses this physical environment, designed for practical needs and urgent tasks, because it is here that the Little Sisters of Saint-Paul find their fulfilment, as craftswomen dedicated to the glory of God. Their only habit is a simple black gown with a white collar—the dress of working women, but one blessed by the Church as they take up their profession. They work in silence, disturbed only by the chattering of the linotype and monotype machines, and by the simple graces that

they sing after their spell of work. But they are in no sense cloistered or withdrawn from the heartening ways of life. Among the abiding memories of the Little Sisters, one must surely include their charm and wit, as well as their dedication to their work.

From the foundations laid down in 1873, the work of Saint-Paul has spread into France, where sister printing houses have been established, and into the Cameroons and Dakar, where printing is combined with missionary work. Girls enter the Order as postulants and proceed to their novitiate, with a number of opportunities to change their mind if the life proves to be one for which they are not fitted. One wondered, with this practical and charitable example before one, why secular training for industry in this country (which ought to be imbued with some sense of vocation) is regarded so often with the air of discovery. There is nothing new about the blending of craft with vocation at Saint-Paul.

But typesetting, for all the skill and tradition that can be claimed for it, is still only part of the total process of printing. And although the Little Sisters devote themselves to this responsibility, three-fifths of the total staff of the Saint-Paul works are of the laity. These include the men in the machine rooms who belong as a rule (though they are under no compulsion) to the Christian trade union, and whose wages are well above the minimum laid down in the agreement, corresponding in fact to the average for Switzerland.

A Matter of Conscience

These men (and the Little Sisters themselves) were not prepared to help *The Economist* until they were satisfied on moral grounds that their cooperation with us, as a third party in the recent London dispute, would not prejudice the interests of the London compositors. They would not have lent themselves to any operations that savoured of "strike-breaking" and one of the most serious tasks undertaken by the paper's editorial representatives in Fribourg was to give as honest an account as they could of the complicated pros and cons of the London dispute and leave the decision of conscience to their hosts.

If any regret lingers over an operation which went on happily for five weeks (despite the threat of electricity cuts and despite the loss, fortunately only for a few hours, of printing material carried on over the Alps to Italy) it is that these good people should have been treated with so much less charity by some of their own countrymen than they accorded to us. One could understand the sharp cleavage between the points of view of the secular and Christian unions, if only because it proceeded from a long history of religious difference; but it was the attitude of the socialist union, with its uncritical appeal to "international solidarity," that was based on dogma, while the members of what is often accepted as a dogmatic confession reached their own conclu-

sion about the propriety of producing *The Economist* after a careful, fair hearing of its predicament. And one should add a private note of distaste for certain unhelpful comments that appeared in some German-language papers, which so far forgot their own political standpoint, and were so little moved by the duty laid on any self-respecting editor to produce his paper if he can, that they were able to bring themselves to refer to the "black" operation conducted by *The Economist* in Fribourg.

In Grateful Remembrance

The abiding memory of those who had the privilege of working at Fribourg is of warm cooperation, great technical skill, charming hospitality, and graceful manners. The Sisters made our staff humbly grateful by their simple demonstration of patience and service. They taught us, without intending to do so, many lessons about our work that we had failed to discover for ourselves. *The Economist* owes much, after Fribourg, to countless people—to British European Airways and its staff, to Albert with his furniture van who took the copies by road to Geneva, and to many others. But it owes most to *les Petites Soeurs*; and that is a debt they themselves would wish us to requite by praying for a blessing on all their labours.

—By a Member of the Staff
Lately at Fribourg

A Primer for Social Action

Multum in parvo has probably never been more apt as characterization of a book than in the case of John C. Bennett's *The Christian as Citizen*.¹ One of the series of World Christian Books, of which Stephen Neill, an Anglican bishop, is general editor, this 93-page volume is a model in profundity of thought and simplicity of statement. Many a reader of *Social Action* will, we surmise — if he or she is fortunate enough to read the book—be tempted to exclaim: "Why can't the theologians always write like this!"

At the outset, the Christian's responsibility as citizen is declared to be, "basically, an extension of Christian love to those aspects of public life which affect for good or ill the welfare of one's neighbors." Interestingly enough, more light is thrown on this matter by the Old Testament prophets than in the Gospels. For the New Testament, in contrast to the Old, has "little concern for social institutions or public policies." Dean Bennett points out why: first, the early Christian community had only insignificant political influence and, secondly, the New Testament reflects the general expectation that history would presently come to an end.

Church and Culture

Hence it is of the essence of Christian citizenship to give effective expression to the deep social concern

in which the New Testament abounds in a world that has disappointed the expectation of an early "second coming" of Christ. In the late Middle Ages, the author notes, the church, then at the pinnacle of its power in Europe, "partly tamed" the world in which it lived — "the world of feudal powers, of society ordered in different levels of privilege, of private property, even of slavery." But it did so "at the price of identifying Christianity and the church too closely with its culture, and of tolerating too much that was unjust in society."

The Reformation, coinciding as it did with profound changes in the intellectual and social climate, marked a growing cleavage between the church and the world; the secular order acquired an autonomy of its own. In particular, to use a term of Tawney's which the author quotes, economic life became a "lost province" of the church. What is distinctive in current Christian concern, as compared with that of past centuries, is "the conviction that Christian responsibility for society includes a responsibility for radical criticism of the existing order." (This, it may be said in passing, is an accurate characterization of the "social gospel," which it has become fashionable to discredit.)

1. New York, Association Press, 1955. \$1.25.

Since we want our subscribers to read this book, no summary of it is in order, but the urge to "point it up" here and there is strong. For example, Dean Bennett gives a salutary warning to zealous Christian actionists who are too ready with a "Thus saith the Lord" when dealing with specific problems. There are, he says, "many questions which can be settled neither by expert opinion nor by a clear Christian moral judgment." Where a decision turns on a prediction of the behavior of human beings or governments in response to a given course of action certainty is obviously impossible. In spite of this limitation decisions have to be made—"many of them extremely fateful decisions."

What then, is vouchsafed to us? "The ultimate faith that God has redeemed and will redeem, that the future is in his hands, that neither totalitarianism nor nuclear war can separate us from the love of God in Christ Jesus, is the only antidote to the distortions which anxiety or despair introduces into our life, and into our judgments about what we should do." This, be it noted, is faith, not knowledge—as the scientist uses the term. It is akin, perhaps, to what Santayana calls the "soul's invincible surmise."

A Common Front

Again, and in close sequence, Dean Bennett says that the values to be conserved in the exercise of Christian citizenship are values on which "Christians have no monopoly." "Theologians debate endlessly as to the manner in which knowledge

about these values comes to us, and as to the relation between them and love. All theologians make use of them, whatever their views as to their source and origin." Every experienced social action leader has reason to know this, although many theologians seem unable to accept it. Commenting further, Dean Bennett says, "Christians must thank God for common convictions which they share with non-Christians, whether these be adherents of other religions or men without religious affiliation, who care for social justice and for the dignity of all persons, who show forth in many ways their belief in democratic institutions and their integrity as citizens. In particular cases, non-Christians have been ahead of Christians in the understanding of the needs of their country and in their commitment to the goals emphasized in this book."

The discussion of principles is illuminated by reference to problems of land reform, race segregation, and self-government in terms that are of worldwide applicability. A lead is given for the understanding of political structures and valid methods of political action. The analysis ends with a critique of Communism—and objectionable forms of anti-Communism.

In a time when much is being said about the layman's need for theology and when theological writing has become highly sophisticated, would it not be a great boon if Dean Bennett's example in the exposition of Christian thought should be widely followed?

—F. E. J.

“Justice and Judaism, the Work of Social Action”

“In this most timely volume we find the timeless truths of Judaism applied cogently and challengingly to the problems of our day.” So says Rabbi Maurice N. Eisendrath in the Introduction to this 1956 publication of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, written by Albert Vorspan and Eugene J. Lipman (271 pages, \$3.50). And so will say all who read the book. It is an outstanding contribution to all social action, Christian as well as Jewish.

In his book on *The Christian as Citizen* (reviewed in this issue of SOCIAL ACTION) Dean Bennett states: “Christians must thank God for common convictions which they share with non-Christians . . . who care for social justice and for the dignity of all persons, who show forth in many ways their belief in democratic institutions and their integrity as citizens.” We do so thank God for Mr. Vorspan and Mr. Lipman. They certainly “care for social justice . . . democratic institutions . . . and . . . integrity as citizens.”

A Passion for Justice

Every page throbs with social passion. Every chapter searches out the dark corners of injustice and need, and floods them with bright light. Through the whole book courses a strong current of righteous concern which penetrates every social problem with which the authors deal.

The Christian reader may not agree with the authors in all their views but he will always be excited

by the searching analyses and the vivid presentation. He will find a forthright treatment of social evils in the chapters on housing, education, marriage and the family, crime, civic reform, civil rights, civil liberties, religious liberty, economic affairs, immigration, peace and international relations.

Each chapter contains suggestions for further reading and each is headed by an appropriate biblical quotation. The whole text is strikingly illustrated with sketches by Russell Roman.

An Action Program

The suggestions as to what the synagogue committee can do in social action are very similar to those available to church groups. The authors suggest that “the initial task of the committee is to analyze its own community and to select those social problems locally, as well as one or two of national or international character, which require study and action.” And again: “Having selected those issues which require attention, the synagogue committee makes its own study of these problems from the standpoint of the moral principles of Judaism. When its study is completed, the committee then undertakes its basic task: educating and sensitizing the members of the congregation to the moral implications of the issue.”

There is also a marked similarity between the role of the national commission, which is “to make ma-

terials and guidance available to local committees," and that, for example, of the CSA. Social action in both faiths meets its greatest obstacle in indifference to economic issues, and it is in that area that there is the greatest disparity of viewpoint between the clergy and the laity. "For nearly a century," the authors say, "Orthodox, Conservative, and Reform synagogues, as religious institutions, generally did not relate themselves directly to the problems of contemporary society." This is

equally true of Christian institutions.

But the comment on the clergy is particularly applicable to the Jewish leaders: "From the early days of organized American Jewish life to the present, Jewish spiritual leaders have fought courageously for justice."

This volume is a valuable contribution to the current literature of social action. It is stimulating and helpful reading for Christians concerned with American social issues.

—R. G.

"The United Nations: New Perspectives"

This is the title of a 71-page booklet by Alfred J. Hotz, published in 1955 by the Church Peace Union (170 E. 64th Street, New York 21, 35 cents). It is an impressive restatement of the philosophy of the United Nations, the assumptions that underlie it, its major problems, and the conditions of fulfilling its functions.

The approach is realistic both theologically—that is to say, with respect to the nature of man—and politically, with respect to the role of power in the affairs of nations. "The power struggle," says Mr. Hotz, "cannot be eliminated by moralistic admonitions to be done with 'power politics' or by invoking 'international law.' Nations at best can seek to pursue policies in which their self-interest gears into the general welfare of the world community."

Ethics and Power

National interests are defined as "those vital interests, both spiritual

and material, which a nation-state will defend to its death. The national interest includes those moral values and ethical concepts we refer to as the 'American way of life.' The national interest also includes territorial integrity, political independence, and economic productivity." A successful national policy must maintain balance "between a nation's power and its commitments."

In this context power is not seen to be "against ethics" but rather power is something given and "will be used by those who have it."

Diplomacy is defined as "the continuation of the struggle for power by political means; it is based on the assumption that man is both rational and moral, and that national behavior can be modified, diverted, or even re-directed by political persuasion backed by power and opinion."

Military establishments are essential but "the real test of the military arm is its ability to achieve political

objectives *without* actual recourse to armed conflict." A "balance-of-power system" which is often deplored as a substitute for justice and right is seen here as a useful mechanism. "The balance-of-power system, in both domestic and international politics, is designed to prevent a particular power group from gaining a monopoly of power. It has never guaranteed perfect peace, but it has thus far prevented any single state from expanding into a world empire."

U.N.: Theory and Fact

Theory and fact with respect to the United Nations are contrasted. The U.N. is *in theory* "a structured balance-of-power system" with permanent instrumentalities and definite procedures. *In fact*, the U.N. is something other than this. Underlying the U.N. has been the assumption that national interest would be reconcilable with universal interests or would give way to them. As a matter of fact, a great power cannot be expected to "sacrifice its own interests for the interests of other nations." Moreover, we have no agreed-upon way of determining what "universal interest" is.

This conflict between theory and fact is called "a realistic problem that every responsible citizen must come to grips with."

Collective security has three indispensable factors: "a basic principle for mutual interests, the legal and moral commitment to act, and the military and economic power to back up these commitments." The U.N. was deliberately constructed without any provision comparable

to Article 10 of the League Covenant which President Wilson called the "heart" of it. The United States was no more ready than any other power to accept a definite commitment to resist aggression against another nation.

This is why the kind of collective security afforded by the U.N. was bound to be supplemented by collective defense as illustrated in NATO. "NATO fulfills the conditions for collective security to a far greater degree than does the United Nations organization. Its basic principle is more definite—an 'armed attack against one is an attack against all.' Its legal and moral commitment is more concrete: 'will take action as it deems necessary, including the use of armed force.'"

Crucial Issues

Discussing the principle of pacific settlement, the author notes that "two basic assumptions underlie all bilateral and multilateral efforts at peaceful settlement: all parties to the dispute have something to gain and all contestants have limited rather than unlimited objectives." In essence, "what the General Assembly and Security Council provide is a third party to assist two or more contending states in arriving at a peaceful solution."

There is a realistic discussion of the problem of Red China in relation to the U.N. It is pointed out, as apparently it needs to be, that there is no question of "admission"; rather the question is one of "acceptance" of Red China's representatives as the authentic "delegates of the Chinese State." —F. E. J.

WORKSHOP

Edited by
Herman F. Reissig

DEAR READERS:

I move that the title of this part of the magazine be changed to PLAYGROUND. All in favor say I. Why does it always have to be work? The sun is shining, the birdies are calling, and here in New York it's been a long, hard winter. "Workshop," indeed! My spirit pleads for deliverance from work. Let us give three whoops and run out to play! It's too late now but I have had a lovely thought that seems never to have occurred to anyone else. Suppose that after Eve ate the apple, bringing on herself all sorts of onerous consequences, Adam had possessed the moral stamina to say, "No!" Then presumably only Eve and her feminine descendants would have had the curse of work put upon them and men would have been exempt from toil. What a pleasant thing to contemplate! But, well, as I say, it's too late now; so let us settle down to the old WORKSHOP.

Workshop for Ministers

A workshop on intergroup relations for ministers will be held in Chicago, July 23-August 3, under the auspices of the Federated Theological Faculty of the University of Chicago and the National Conference

of Christians and Jews. Director of the workshop is Dr. Will Herberg of Drew University, noted authority on religion in America and author of the recently published book, *Protestant, Catholic, Jew*. Scholarships will be made available by the National Conference to clergymen and religious educators who are selected by the local Council of Churches. Applications should be made to the National Conference of Christians and Jews, 203 N. Wabash Avenue, Chicago 1, or to the Federated Theological Faculty, University of Chicago, Chicago 37, Illinois. This looks like something good!

Good Work in Geneva

It's Geneva, Ohio, this time. In that town Vernon Holloway, former CSA international relations secretary, is minister of the United Church (Baptist-Congregational). Vern writes that the social action committee is currently engaged in two projects.

(1) Research and preparation of a series of articles for the local newspaper, reporting in human interest fashion the background, employment, family status, etc., of the local Puerto Ricans, most of whom are migratory workers. Ever think of

doing something like that for your newspaper? In smaller communities the editor might very well be glad to cooperate.

(2) An inquiry into local problems of juvenile delinquency and community welfare services. The committee sponsored a meeting in the church to which it invited Geneva pastors, welfare and family service agency officials, the mayor, principals of the two high schools, and others. It prepared a checklist of questions for evaluation of the community with regard to delinquency, counselling, recreation, medical services, institutional care for the aged. If you would like to see this checklist for possible use in your community Dr. Holloway would probably be glad to send you a copy.

U.N. Films

Even if you are not planning a definite meeting on the U.N., we suggest you write for the official catalogue of "United Nations Films." This 49-page booklet does more than just list the films; it describes them. You may get the catalogue by writing to the Department of Public Information, United Nations, New York, New York. Rental price of films is usually \$2.50, occasionally \$4.00. To mention now just one film. *Rural Nurse* (two reels, 20 minutes) is said to be unusually good. It is the story of what experts sent out by the U.N. did in San Salvador.

Influence?

It would be foolish to claim that the churches are responsible for current shifts in U.S. foreign policy,

especially in the field of foreign aid. But it is impressive (I almost said amusing) to notice that the main changes now being advocated by the President, the Secretary of State, and other Administration leaders are exactly in line with proposals and pleas emanating from church meetings and agencies over the past several years. Separation of military aid from economic and technical assistance, greater use of the United Nations, aid without strings attached, long-term commitments, a positive program of aid, not simply a negative reaction to communism—the National Council of Churches, the CSA and many a local church have for years been calling for these things. Some parts of recent Administration speeches and press conference statements sound almost as if they had been taken from church documents.

No, we can't claim the churches are responsible for the shifts. We can say that if the new recommendations are accepted by the Congress and by public opinion the churches will have played a part in preparing the ground. Which is all by way of saying that what you do in your local church, your Association, your State Conference may not be as ineffectual as you sometimes think.

Keep Knittin'!

"What constitutes effective action at the local level? Every local League asks itself that. One member has found the best way for her. She never misses a meeting of the Town Council. So faithful is she in attendance that the clerk refuses to let anyone else sit in her favorite chair.

"I seldom have anything to say," she explains. "I just listen and knit. But when they get too far out of line, I stop knitting and look up. Not long ago when the click of my needles stopped, the Council chairman looked at me and said, 'Now keep knittin', Miz' Ritchie; it's not as bad as all that.'" (From the *Bulletin* of the League of Women Voters)

For Easterners

Dr. R. H. Edwin Espy of the National Council of Churches will be a main leader at the annual Social Action Institute in Framingham, Massachusetts, to be held this year July 24-28. All persons who wish to explore the responsibility of Christians for action in society are invited. Total cost for room, board and registration: \$22.00. It's a grand chance, not only to get loaded with ideas but also to meet some of the increasing number of fine men and women who are doing good work in the social area. It's worth time and dollars to get someone from your church to go to Framingham. Albert Rasmussen of Rochester will be there, and the whole CSA staff, with the exception of the editor of *WORKSHOP* whose place will be taken by that able and lovable person, Kenneth Maxwell, associate director of the National Council's Department of International Affairs.

For Westerners

Gibbons, Espy, Rasmussen, Reisig, McPeck, Weaver, and Babcock will lead the Social Action Institute at La Foret, Colorado Springs, September 4-8. Total cost: \$20.00. Some

scholarship help available. Come yourself or send someone to join us under the great pine trees for four days of lively discussion. These annual institutes are just about tops in the whole social action movement.

Good for East Orange!

If your church has some kind of "homecoming" affair in the fall of the year you might take a cue from the Congregational Church in East Orange, New Jersey. (Walter R. Van Hoek, minister). Last fall the annual homecoming dinner of this church featured the tenth anniversary of the U.N. A beautifully printed program listed, among other things, "Dances from Around the World." Foreign students from Korea, Singapore, Iran, Thailand, Trinidad, and Germany were introduced. In the same church the Women's Fellowship observed United Nations Day. The chairman of the Women's Fellowship, Mrs. Victor J. Reuter, was chairman of a city-wide observance of the U.N. anniversary.

Said the Deacons:

It was in the Fellowship Congregational Church, Tulsa, Oklahoma. The Board of Deacons requested the church's social action committee "to undertake a program of education directed toward better race relations." Let's stop right there and think about that action. First, the board of deacons is alert about the business of being Christian. Second, when it wants something done in social relations there is a committee on hand to do it. Suggestion: more

deacons ought to make more requests of social action committees. A splendid way to initiate action!

So the committee began by sending a questionnaire to church members—so that the attitude of church members would be known before the educational work was planned. Five hundred questionnaires sent out; 131 returned. Question number four: "Should our church, upon proper application, admit persons of other races to membership?" One hundred and six said "Yes." Nineteen said "No." Question number five: "Do you personally believe there are sufficient racial differences in intelligence, morality, etc., to justify segregation?" "Yes"—31; "No"—91.

If you want a copy of the questionnaire write to Mr. Carl D. Baswell, 1835 E. 16th St., Tulsa, who is chairman of the committee. The minister is George J. Verville. Will the committee please let WORKSHOP know sometime within the year what it did about the educational job?

Brotherhood in San Diego

The social action committee of the San Diego (Calif.) Association really makes something of the annual Brotherhood Week. In 1955 the program was in three parts: an interracial choir concert on Friday, an institute on Saturday, and the importation of Dr. Arthur Gray of Talledega as guest speaker in three churches on Sunday. This year, the institute, attended by one hundred persons, concentrated on Indian Americans. Government officials and church leaders shared the program. The audience was interracial and

the institute was held in "a predominantly Negro church." Why don't more Association social action committees present institutes for the whole Association? National social action leaders will be glad to cooperate.

Wisdom from Higgins

Mr. Higgins in George Bernard Shaw's play *Pygmalion* is not a thoroughly admirable character but he says some things with which social action workers can thoroughly agree. For example, on the business of discussing controversial questions and by so doing causing "trouble." Says Higgins: "Would the world ever have been made if its maker had been afraid of causing trouble? Making life means making trouble. There's only one way of escaping trouble; and that's killing things. Cowards, you notice, are always shrieking to have troublesome people killed." And then Higgins, for all his superciliousness, gives some advice whose practice would eliminate snobbishness and mistreatment of minority groups: "The great secret, Eliza, is not having bad manners or good manners, but having the same manner for all human souls."

Workshop is reprinted from SOCIAL ACTION magazine for distribution to social action committee members and others in Congregational Christian churches by the:

Council for Social Action
289 Fourth Avenue
New York 10, N.Y.

Special Subscription Rates

On the occasion of the General Council meeting, the Council for Social Action offers special subscription rates for SOCIAL ACTION magazine, usually \$2.00 a year. During the June 20-27 meeting in Omaha, Nebraska, and for three days thereafter, *ending June 30, 1956*, the rates will be:

ONE YEAR—\$1.75 TWO YEARS—\$3.00 GIFT SUBSCRIPTION—\$1.50

Act now, and be sure to have these forthcoming issues:

September—Farm Production and Surpluses

October—Election Issues

November—American Economic Interests Abroad

December—Housing in the U.S.A.

Topics for subsequent issues: Our Senior Citizens, Balance Sheet of Civil Liberties, Forces Affecting Teen-agers, National Interest and Christian Concern, and Leisure and Its Uses.

Adv.